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AUTHENTIC COPIES

OF THE

DECLARATION

OF

Mr. DE BULHAKOW, &c.

AUTHENTIC COPIES

OF THE

DECLARATION

OF

M. DE BULHAKOW,

ENVOY FROM RUSSIA;

Delivered at WARSAW, MAY 18, 1792.

WITH THE

ANSWER

OF THE

REPUBLIC OF POLAND,

TO

M. DE BULHAKOW's DECLARATION,

Dated JUNE 1, 1782.

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STATE PAPERS.

DECLARATION OF MR. BULHAKOW, RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR AT WARSAW, DELIVERED TO THE DIET ON THE 18th MAY, 1792.

THE liberty and independence of the illuſtrious Republic of Poland, have at all times attracted the attention and concern of all her neighbours.

Her Majeſty the Empreſs of all the Ruſſias, who, together with this claim, ſtill unites the right of her formal and poſitive engagements with the Republic, has endeavoured, in a more particular manner, to watch over the inviolable preſervation of theſe two precious attributes of her political exiſtence.

Theſe continual and generous endeavours of her Majeſty, being the effects of her love for juſtice and order, as well as her affection and good wiſhes towards a nation, whom the identity of origin, language, and ſo many other natural relations with the nation ſhe reigns over, rendered dear to her, did doubtleſs repreſs the ambition and avidity of thoſe rulers who, not ſatisfied with the ſhare of authority aſſigned to them by the laws of the State, aſpired at a greater extent of power at the expence of theſe very laws.

With this intent they have, on one hand, neglected nothing for tiring the active vigilance of the Empreſs over the integrity of the rights and prerogatives of the illuſtrious Poliſh nation; and, on the other hand, for defaming the purity and munificence of her intentions, and placing them on every occaſion in the moſt odious point of view.

In this manner they had the perfidious dexterity to cauſe to be declared, as a cumberſome and humiliating yoke, the act by which Ruſſia guarantees the lawful conſtitution of this nation; whereas the greateſt realms, and among the reſt the German Empire,

pire, far from rejecting ſuch like guarantees, have conſidered, ſought, and accepted them as the moſt ſtable foundation of their property and independence.

Events of a recent nature, ſhew better than all proofs, how indiſpenſable and efficacious ſuch a guarantee might be; and that the Republic without them, after having been involved by the practices of her internal enemies, to recover her conſtitution, could have no other claim on the intervention of the Empreſs, than ſolely her friendſhip and generoſity.

Meanwhile, thoſe who very long ſince meditated the degradation and ruin of the ancient liberty of the Republic, grew bolder and bolder, when part of the nation propoſed all ſorts of perverſe and erroneous notions, and only waited for a favourable moment to execute their ruinous deſigns. They thought they would find it in the two wars by which Ruſſia was attacked at once. About this time the Diet aſſembled at Warſaw. The inſtructions which the Legates had received from their Woywodſhips, fixed the ſame as a FREE AND ORDINARY DIET.—All at

once it was transformed into a CONFEDERATE DIET, without any known good reaſons. The Act of Confederation which was made public, announced the tranſactions of the ſame. Its chief objects were to be; *the maintenance of the free Republican government —the maintenance of the magiſtrates in their functions and actual limits—and the preſervation of the property of citizens.*

It belongs to the people of the Poliſh nation themſelves, to judge from the conſequences and reſult of the tranſactions of this Diet, how far it has abuſed public confidence, by departing from the original objects of its meeting, and adopting others which were entirely oppoſite to them. Without entering upon an enumeration of all the illegalities and violations of the laws and immunities of the Republic, which this confederate Diet, or rather the *faction prevailing in it*, preſumed to execute, it will ſuffice to ſay, that after having uſurped, mingled, and concentrated in itſelf all branches of power, whoſe union in the hand of one individual is utterly inconſiſtent with Republican principles, has moreover uſurped in a moſt tyrannical manner,

each

each branch of this power; it has prolonged its duration for above three years and an half (a duration of which the Poliſh annals do not offer a ſingle inſtance), and finally crowned all its ruinous enterprizes, by totally ſubverting, on the 3d of May, 1791, the edifice of Government, under which the Republic was happy for ſo many years.

On this day this edifice vaniſhed, and on its ruins aroſe a monarchy, which in its new laws by which it was thought to limit it, offers nothing but contradictions, incoherency with the old laws, an entire inſufficiency in every reſpect, which leaves not even to the Polanders the ſhade of that liberty and thoſe prerogatives of which they were always ſo jealous.

The Elective throne is rendered an hereditary one, and this law, which the wiſdom of their anceſtors had dictated, and which forbids to meddle during the life-time of the King with the election of his ſucceſſor, was tranſgreſſed in as raſh a manner, as were all thoſe that did guarantee the perpetual conſiſtency of the Republic.

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The means made uſe of for executing theſe violent actions, were well enough calculated to characteriſe them. On the day of the Revolution the Palace and the Diet Hall were crowded with the Warſaw mob. Armed perſons were introduced—cannons were brought from the arſenal, in order to fire on ſuch as might endeavour to prevent the ſucceſs of the plot. The Regiment of Artillery and the Lithuanian Guards were aſſembled for ſupporting the mob. Their fury was excited againſt thoſe whoſe reſiſtance was dreaded. Several Legates who perſevered in their patriotic ſentiments were threatened with death. When the Legate of Kalitſch humbly approached the throne to remind the King of his ſacred oath concerning the *pacta conventa*, this ſacred and indiſſoluble tie which connects him with the nation, he was trod under foot in an unmerciful manner, in ſpite of his inviolable character as a repreſentative of this nation, to the ſhame and diſgrace of every Polander who has not loſt all ſenſe of honor and liberty. A Revolution effectuated in this manner was deemed by its promoters to have been the free wiſh of the Nation.

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Not ſatisfied with the internal misfortunes they brought upon their unhappy mother country, they alſo endeavoured by all poſſible methods to hurt her abroad, by having plunged her into diſcords, which are likely to degenerate into an open war with Ruſſia, the old ally, the beſt and moſt ſolid friend of the Republic, and the Poliſh Nation.

It required the whole extent of the known generoſity of the Empreſs, and eſpecially that juſtice and penetration, by which ſhe knows how to diſcern the intentions of the ſpirit of party from the general wiſh of the nation, to prevent her from ſooner reſenting the extreme abuſes by which ſhe has been continually provoked.

A brief enumeration of the ſtring of facts belonging to this matter, will ſet the truth of this aſſertion in a proper light.

At the time of the declaration of the war, to which Ruſſia was neceſſitated by the Ottoman Porte, the Ambaſſador of the Empreſs delivered to the Miniſtry of the Republic, which had then no Diet, a note, appriſing them of the inſtantaneous marching of the Ruſſian troops through the Poliſh States, and

propoſing

propoſing to appoint Commiſſioners in the Palatinates that were neareſt to the quarters of theſe troops, in order to agree with them concerning the furniſhing and payment of the requiſite forage.

All this was regulated and amicably agreed upon with mutual ſatisfaction, though at that very period animoſity and rancour ſeemed already to manifeſt themſelves. But as ſoon as the Diet was formed, and the long harboured plan of ſubverting the Republic, had got the better of all conſiderations with reſpect to the preſervation of peace within and without the kingdom, it was not only required immediately to withdraw the Ruſſian troops from the Poliſh territory, without even excepting the ſmall number of thoſe that were to guard the magazines, but alſo the furniſhing them with proviſions was rendered difficult by means of ſeveral impediments: the eſtabliſhing of new magazines for their ſupport was oppoſed, and it was required that even the old magazines ſhould be removed beyond the frontiers of the Republic. On the ſame occaſion, the Treaſury Board made the unjuſt propoſal, that on croſſing the river Dnieſter,

Dnieſter, duties of exports ſhould be collected for theſe magazines, which were procured at a conſiderable expence, and greatly to the advantage of the Poliſh citizens.

Such a proceeding was, in fact, contrary to the reciprocal equity which two neighbouring, friendly, and allied ſtates owe one another.

The oppreſſions of all kinds practiſed upon the ſubjects of her Majeſty the Empreſs, were carried to ſuch a height, that ſome of them, whoſe buſineſs retained them on the territory of the Republic, and who, fully relying on the ſanctity and inviolability of exiſting treaties, and the law of nations, though carrying their trade on in the quieteſt manner, were, notwithſtanding, moſt maliciouſly impeached, for having excited the inhabitants of the places to inſurrection, and were arreſted and thrown into priſons. When the Judges, who were commiſſioned to try theſe people, found no traces of the crime they ſtood impeached for, they had recourſe to the torture to extort a confeſſion, and after having in this manner forced it out, theſe hard-hearted Judges condemned them

to die, and abſolutely had the ſentence carried into execution. This firſt eſſay of inhumanity, injuſtice, and cruelty, opened a vaſt field for inquiſitions of all kinds, by which the provinces were chiefly oppreſſed, whoſe inhabitants confeſs the orthodox Greek religion. The Biſhop of Przejaſlaw and Abbot of Sluck, *though an Imperial jubject*, fell a victim to this perſecution. Notwithſtanding his high eccleſiaſtic dignity, purity of manners, and auſterity of principles, he was accuſed of crimes, which malice, and the eagerneſs of increaſing the once effectuated fermentation, invented upon every occaſion—the prelate was arreſted and conducted to Warſaw, where he was doomed to laſting impriſonment.—Even in the center of the metropolis, and towards the Empreſs's Miniſters, the law of nations was as little reſpected; for their Chapel, which is conſidered as a part of the Hotel occupied by them (and the Ruſſian arms being ſuſpended, clearly proves to every body that it is a privileged place), was forced by Poliſh ſoldiers, who ſeized upon a miniſter of the altar, and carried him before an incompetent tribunal.

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The ſatisfaction which the Miniſter has demanded on this ſubject, has been refuſed upon vague and inſignificant pretences—In ſhort, not only the ſolemn treaties which connected Ruſſia and Poland were violated and tranſgreſſed in the moſt important articles, but the animoſity has been carried ſo far as to ſend an extraordinary deputation to Turkey, then in open war with Ruſſia, offering to this Power an offenſive treaty aimed againſt Ruſſia. A fact of which, the archives of the miniſterial correſpondence of the Cabinet of Warſaw contain the documents and the cleareſt proofs.

The reſpect due to the perſon and the exalted rank of the Empreſs, was not obſerved in the ſpeeches held in public ſeſſions in the Diet, and this rudeneſs, inſtead of being reprimanded, as it deſerved, was even encouraged and applauded by the chiefs of the party that ſubverted the laws and conſtitution of the Republic.

The leaſt of theſe grievances, without mentioning thoſe which are voluntarily ſuppreſſed for the ſake of brevity, would already juſtify, in the face of God and men, the re-

ſolution of her Majeſty to take ſignal vengeance. Yet it is not with this view that her Majeſty publiſhes this Declaration of the ſaid grievances. Her innate equity does not ſuffer her to confound all the Poliſh nation with one of the parties which has betrayed her Majeſty's confidence. The Empreſs, on the contrary, is fully convinced, that the greateſt number had no ſhare in any of the things attempted againſt herſelf and the Republic.

For this very reaſon ſhe is willing to ſacrifice her juſt reſentment, to a hope more compatible with her generous and pacific ſentiments, of ſeeing all thoſe grievances remedied by means of a New Diet, which ſhall more ſtrictly adhere to the orders of their ſuperiors, and the immutable fundamental laws of the State, than the preſent exiſting Diet which has treſpaſſed upon them all in the moſt manifeſt manner, and marked all their tranſactions, in oppoſition to thoſe laws, with the ſtamp of their own illegality.

But ſhould her Majeſty refuſe to liſten to the voice of her own reſentment, ſhe cannot be deaf to the voice of claims made to her

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by a great number of Polanders, among whom are ſeveral who are as illuſtrious by birth and rank in the Republic, as they are by their patriotic virtues and ability for ſerving the State.

Animated by a pure and praiſe-worthy zeal for the welfare of their country, and the recovery of its former liberty and independence, they have united themſelves for the purpoſe of forming *a lawful Confederation*, as the only effectual remedy for the misfortunes which the *illegal Confederation* and uſurpations at Warſaw has cauſed to the nation.

With theſe ſentiments they have claimed the ſupport and aſſiſtance of the Empreſs, who did not heſitate to aſſure them of both, being guided on her part by her friendly and amicable diſpoſitions in favour of the Republic, and her deſire of ſtrictly fulfilling the obligations of her treaties.

In order to fulfil her promiſe, the Empreſs has ordered part of her troops to *enter the territory of the Republic.* They ſhew themſelves there as friends, and *for co-operating in the re-eſtabliſhment of the rights and prerogatives*

prerogatives of the Republic. All ſuch as ſhall receive them under this title, will, beſides a perfect oblivion of what is paſt, receive every protection and ſecurity for their perſons and property. Her Majeſty hopes, that all good Polanders, who truly love their native country, will know how to value the intentions of her Imperial Majeſty, and perceive that it is for their own benefit, that they ſhould co-operate, with all their heart and ſoul, in the generous endeavours which her Majeſty is to employ in conjunction with all true patriots, for reſtoring to the Republic liberty and laws, of which it has been deprived by the pretended Conſtitution of the 3d of May. If there ſhould be any who harbour any ſcruple concerning the oath which they have been led to take from error, or which they were compelled to by force and ſeduction, ſuch may conſider, that that is the only true and ſacred oath, by which they engaged to maintain and defend the free and Republican Government under which they were born; and that the renewal of this former oath is the only means of repairing the perjury of which they have been guilty in

taking

taking the new oath. Yet if there are any found, who perſevering in a perverſe way of thinking, ſhould oppoſe the benevolent intentions of the Empreſs, and the patriotic wiſhes of their fellow citizens, they may thank themſelves if they meet with the treatment they deſerve; the more ſo, as they had it in their power to ſecure themſelves by a ſincere abjuration of their errors.

The Extraordinary Ambaſſador and Miniſter Plenipotentiary has orders to notify theſe reſolutions of her Majeſty the Empreſs, and alſo to publiſh her juſt motives; he is, moreover, to invite the illuſtrious Poliſh nation to place an unlimited confidence in the generoſity and diſintereſtedneſs which induces her to take this ſtep, and which makes her moſt ardently deſire that the Republic, by means of a prudent balance of the different Powers, which forms the ſafeſt means of ſecuring both her internal tranquillity, and her good underſtanding with her neighbours, ſhould recover the ſolid baſis of its true welfare.

Given at Warſaw, *May* 7-18, 1792.

(Signed) D. VON BULHAKOW.

ANSWER OF THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND TO THE DECLARATION DELIVERED AT WARSAW, MAY 18, 1792, BY M. DE BULHAKOW, ENVOY OF RUSSIA.

THE Declaration which M. Bulhakow, Envoy Extraordinary and Miniſter Plenipotentiary of her Majeſty the Empreſs of all the Ruſſias, delivered at Warſaw on the 18th of laſt month, while it preſents a ſtate of things unexpected and calculated to impreſs with ſentiments of grief a Free Nation, the friend of peace and of juſtice —ſolely occupied in providing for her own conſervation, her ſafety, and independence —offers at the ſame time, in the ſeries of motives alledged in ſupport of its reſult, a conſideration very capable of ſoftening the aſpect of conſequences afflicting to humanity, which on the firſt view ſeem attached to that Declaration. It is, that the impulſe by which it was dictated, equally foreign, undoubtedly, to the known magnanimity of her Majeſty the Empreſs, as to the true character

character of the facts alledged as the reaſons of it, bear the viſible ſtamp of unfavourable impreſſions; the work of a dexterous and intereſted impoſture, which aſſuming the maſk of civil zeal, has found means to ſurprize the confidence of a Sovereign, whoſe heart it knew acceſſible to the impoſing voice of patriotiſm.

A connected and explanatory narrative of the objects ſet forth in that Declaration, will be ſufficient completely to diſpel the falſe light under which malevolence has endeavoured to repreſent the moſt ſimple details, for the purpoſe of diſtorting them. Can it be poſſible that the aſcendancy of truth unveiled ſhould find no acceſs to the equitable ſpirit of her Imperial Majeſty?

The liberty and the independence of Poland, theſe two eſſential attributes of her political exiſtence, are recognized by the Declaration itſelf to be the objects of all her neighbours, in intereſting themſelves in her affairs. The confirmation of them has alſo been the guide, the limit, of all the wiſhes and the efforts of the preſent Diet.

To ſhew to the eyes of all Europe, as well as to thoſe of her Majeſty the Empreſs, that the National liberties, far from having been infringed or ſacrificed to the ambitious views of a pretended ruling faction, receive, on the contrary, in the late laws wiſely combined, powerful ſafeguards againſt all uſurpation, a ſimple expoſition of the progreſs and the reſults of the labours of the preſent Aſſembly ſhall ſuffice. It will exhibit the whole equally free from the vices of illegality charged upon it, as from characters incompatible with Republican principles.

Convoked under the happy auſpices of the public ſpirit, whoſe energy was ſoon diſplayed, the preſent Diet commenced its operations with all the favour of the national opinion. This advantage pointed out the epoch of uſeful reforms; and it was ſeized with ardour. But to be efficacious, ſuch an enterprize was ill adapted to the duration and the forms of an ordinary Diet. The neceſſity was felt of transforming it into a confederated Diet—a mode known and uſual, even on leſs important

important occaſions. The happy effects of this meaſure ſoon demonſtrated its propriety. The harmony, the active progreſs of the deliberation, a ſpirit of fraternity daily more and more apparent, announced a Revolution happily effected in the national ideas and diſpoſitions. The public voice applauding the patriotiſm that centered all efforts in the public good, encouraged the legiſlators to give to their labours a greater degree of latitude, than the tenor of the Act of Confederation, prepared in the firſt fermentation of indefinite ideas of amelioration ſeemed to embrace.

From the natural connexion of the different parts of the Adminiſtration, a partial Reform could have produced only reſults incomplete or incoherent. The adminiſtration of juſtice, the finances, the police, the public force, all equally demanded the enlightened eye of examination, and were fully inveſtigated. The general approbation followed cloſe upon and juſtified every Reform that was made. A ſecond choice of Repreſentatives, founded

on the expiration of the Biennial term, impreſſed a ſanction of the national will, ſtill more impoſing on the labours already accompliſhed, and authoriſed further proceedings. Accordingly the ſpirit of the new was ſoon ſeen to aſſimilate with that of the ancient Repreſentatives. A union of will and of ſentiment neceſſarily reinforced the ſyſtem of patriotic views. In proportion as opinions were enlightened by diſcuſſion, and ideas generaliſed, men's minds approached faſter and faſter towards conviction that the beſt laws would fall ſhort of the good which was their object, if it were not made a point to perfect the means of putting them in execution, and to prevent thoſe periodical convulſions that expoſed the beſt eſtabliſhments to uncertainty. The conſequence was a plan of Conſtitution which was ſanctioned on the third day of May, and which is only the abſtract of a plan of Reform of Government ordained by the Diet, and ſubmitted to its deliberation nine months before.

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In making the Crown hereditary, Poland had felt all the reaſons for ſo doing, in a long and unfortunate experience of the troubles inſeparable from vacancies of the Throne. She even ſerved the intereſts of neighbouring powers by the ſuppreſſion of an abuſe, which was the conſtantly recurring ſource of ſpeculations and jealouſies to Cabinets, and expoſed them to influences often involuntary and injurious to their own tranquillity. Theſe internal and external advantages appeared a ſufficient price for the ſacrifice of an illuſory prerogative, of which nations the moſt enthuſiaſtic in their zeal for liberty, and the moſt attached to Republican principles, have perceived the emptineſs and the danger.

It was by a calculation deduced from the ſame experience that the nation diſcovered the inconveniencies of the vicious compoſition of the Executive Power, divided in ſuch a manner as to preſent impoſing forms and inefficient conſequences. Depoſited in the hands of the King, with proper modifications, it has acquired all the

the advantages of unity, without leaving an opening for abuſes of authority—conſidering the reſponſibility of Miniſters not removeable at will, and ſubject to the ſuperintendance of the Legiſlative Body, which has always the power of preventing or repreſſing a departure from their duty. Such a ſyſtem, impreſſing on Government all the energy compatible with republican principles, is equally favourable to external convenience, by the ſtability which it gives to the political connexions of Poland.

Thus the Conſtitution of May 3, reſting on foundations wiſely adapted, is its own defence againſt the imputations of monarchical views, which the enemies of the proſperity and quiet of their country ſtrive to make believed, to awaken the apprehenſions of the nation and the attention of her neighbours—In vain do they exert themſelves to paint that memorable day in odious colours.

If patriotic enthuſiaſm, animated by the importance of its object, as well as by the fear of leaving to intrigue, in the ſlowneſs of the

the ordinary forms, the means of making it miſcarry, did not confine itſelf to the ſtrict obſervance of ſome formalities, the following ſitting of May 5, moſt eminently compenſated for this omiſſion, by impreſſing on the work the impoſing character of the unanimity of a reconſidered opinion—ſoon did a uniform voice of applauſe and joy reſound from one extremity of the kingdom to another; different National Aſſemblies, different meetings of individuals, ſucceſſively tranſmitted to the King, in addreſſes dictated by a patriotic enthuſiaſm, the public homage of gratitude for the bleſſing of a Conſtitution, calculated to cement the national proſperity. —This public ſpirit, enlightened with reſpect to the true intereſts of the country, crowned its diſplay in the general aſſembly of the Dietines, in a manner that aſtoniſhed all Europe—voluntary oaths to maintain the Conſtitution; homages and delegations ſolemnly decreed to the King and the States, proved at how high a price it was eſtimated by the nation.—And this is not the ſolitary concluſion of a ſmall number of diſtricts or palatinates, yielding to the impulſe of ſome prepon-

preponderating influence ; it is the general and uniform expreſſion of a profound ſentiment, whoſe towering flight pronounced, baniſhes all idea of intrigue, conſtraint, and ſeduction ; it is the intimate adherence of the nation to a work, in which ſhe ſees with conviction the confirmation of her liberties, of her happineſs, and her tranquillity.

This ſtate of things, which is very far from being exaggerated, refutes the ſuppoſition of an exiſting faction ; which, according to the terms of the Declaration, to accompliſh its views of domination at the expence of Republican equality, was ſtriving to interpret the act by which the ancient Conſtitution of Poland were guaranteed, as a heavy and degrading yoke.

The Poliſh Nation has but one and the ſame ſentiment on the nature of guarantees. It is conformable to the known ideas of the public juriſprudence of all ages and countries reſpecting acts of this kind. Their operation cannot be directed but againſt ſome third party, who would infringe the rights of one body politic guaranteed by another ; and in this ſenſe, the guarantee becomes the reſpectable

reſpectable ſafeguard of the public tranquillity. Any other acceptation of ſuch political engagements, would preſent only the idea of a ſhackle, incompatible with the independence of a nation, inſtead of that of a ſupporter. The example of a German Empire offers no exception to the general axiom. Compoſed of ſeveral States equally free, equally independent, this federative body finds in the guarantee a ſolid confirmation of the reſpective rights of each of its co-eſtates againſt any other. —The Republic of Poland forming but one and the ſame body politic, comes not within the application. An act of guarantee that ſhould concern her, and that ſhould be entered into by herſelf over herſelf, would carry in it a contradictory idea, ſo much the more, as it is only on the demand of the legal authority of the Republic, that the guaranteeing power could legally act in conſequence of its engagements; otherwiſe, if a part of the citizens, revolting againſt authority, could ſupport their inſurrection by a foreign interference, clothed with an appearance of law—if the ſolitary

cry of a few individuals could uſurp the rights of a national reclamation, ſuch an abuſe of guarantee would become the principle of a ſubverſion of all order, of all tranquillity—a conſequence dreadful and repugnant to the common intereſts of ſociety.

In purſuing the developement of the Declaration, at the concluſion of the aſſertions which inculpate the progreſs and the whole of the operations of the preſent Diet, are found particular complaints which betray the ſtamp of the ſame inſidious inſinuations that have aggravated the nature of them.

The ſending of an Extraordinary Legation to Turkey is repreſented as having had for its object an offenſive league againſt Ruſſia. It is notorious, that this miſſion had reference to the ſame period, and to the ſame motives, as all the others decreed to the greater part of the Courts of Europe, that of Peterſburgh included. If the nomination of this laſt was fruitleſs, the fault, it is well known, lay not with Government.—The common object of theſe miſſions was, to make known to all the Courts the ſpirit and the pacific object of the indiſpenſible operations of the Diet,

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tending ſolely to the amelioration of the internal Government.—The ſame ſpirit dictated the inſtructions with which Count Potocki was furniſhed for Turkey. The negociations into which he afterwards entered were no part of his original inſtructions.

Being arrived at Conſtantinople, he found the Ottoman Miniſtry clearly diſpoſed, not only to renew and to cultivate the amicable connexions with Poland, but even to add to them by more poſitive engagements. Preſſed as they were by the arms of Ruſſia, the Ottomans would have been glad to find a uſeful diverſion in an alliance with Poland. They accordingly made the firſt advances, accompanied with offers the moſt ſeductive.

The States of the Republic being informed of this ſtate of things, having to demand the enjoyment of indulgencies, the moſt important to commerce, founded on ancient treaties, did not think it adviſeable to reject, by an abſolute refuſal, theſe firſt overtures, which opened a proſpect of means and arrangements advantageous to Poland. In the

mean time, the inſtructions to this effect, ſent to the Miniſter of the Republic, were reſtricted by all the reſervations neceſſary to ſecure the intereſts of Poland, without compromiſing thoſe of her neighbours. Accordingly the whole courſe of this negotiation, in which the Ottoman Miniſtry ſhewed as much eagerneſs to draw the Miniſter of the Republic into their views, as he oppoſed circumſpection, offered rather proofs of regard for her Majeſty the Empreſs, than juſt cauſes of complaint.

The circumſtance of the evacuation of the magazines and the Ruſſian troops, ſet forth with aggravation in the Declaration, will alſo appear to be much ſoftened, by recollecting the period to which it belongs.

It was, in fact, that in which the Republic ſaw herſelf at the eve of a criſis which might long diſturb her internal tranquillity. Official reports from different parts of the kingdom, almoſt at the ſame time, had announced the indications of a general diſpoſition to revolt among the peaſants of the Greek Communion, united and not united. Soon after multiplied advices confirmed the

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ſucceſſive unfolding of this germ of ſedition: The imminence of the danger called for prompt and vigorous meaſures. Aſſurances were obtained by the uniform depoſitions of ſome of the revolters, apprehended in different parts, that the firſt ſparks of this commotion had been ſtruck and fomented by the fanaticiſm of ſome monks of the Greek Communion not united, ſeconded by the ſuttlers and other Ruſſian ſubjects. A ſyſtematic concert of theſe machinations appearing in different points of the kingdom, threatened a dangerous conſpiracy—In this alarming ſituation, the ſtay and the frequent paſſing of Ruſſian troops, occaſioned by their indiſpenſible communications with the magazines eſtabliſhed in Poland, gave juſt cauſe of apprehenſion that their preſence might encourage the people, eaſy to be deluded, to a revolt, which they ſaw daily fomented by ſubjects of that nation, and might equally favour the conflux of the latter into the kingdom. Theſe conſiderations required the meaſures adopted, both to obtain the entire evacuation of the Ruſſian troops with their magazines, and to ſubject their paſſing

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and ſtaying in Poland to a regulation compatible with the maintenance of the internal ſafety.

The enlightened equity of her Majeſty, the Empreſs, will perceive in this conduct of the Poliſh Government, the ſymptoms rather of well-founded uneaſineſs, than of ill-will towards her.

The ſame ſolicitude rendered indiſpenſible the meaſures qualified in the Declaration, with the term of perſecution againſt the Ruſſian ſubjects.

In order to ſtop the conſpiracy in its ſource, endeavours were made to diſcover the authors. Theſe did not eſcape the vigilance of enquiry; and, if among a great number of individuals apprehended, the hand of juſtice fell on ſome guilty heads, theſe acts of rigour following as the conſequence of regular proceedings, were called for by the intereſt of the public ſafety, which was deeply endangered. The charge againſt the Judges of having employed even torture to extort a confeſſion of the crime, is repugnant to the known organization of the juſtice of Poland. Humanity has there proſcribed,

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as in other well regulated countries, the barbarous practice of torture. No fact, no complaint of this nature, has reached the knowledge of Government, which would not have failed to do ſignal juſtice. The principles of mildneſs and humanity which direct it, even inſpired the foreſight of preventing the poſſibility of having to regret miſplaced rigours, that the precipitation of the ſubordinate Judges might have occaſioned, at a criſis in which the indications of a flame ready to burſt forth, were likely to aggravate apprehenſion. The eſtabliſhment of a Commiſſion of Enquiry provided againſt it. Its object was to endeavour to cut all the threads of a conſpiracy diſcovered in its birth, and to prevent, rather than puniſh, the crime. The vigilance, the ſolicitude of this commiſſion fully anſwered the expectation of the public. By meaſures wiſe and multiplied, it ſoon ſucceeded in putting a ſtop to the fears of a revolt by cutting off the means of propagating revolt.

The arreſt of the Archimandrite of Sulk was one of thoſe neceſſary meaſures. All the

the ſuſpicions, all the informations ſupported by depoſitions were united againſt him. The rank which he held in the Hierarchy of Greek communion not united, in Poland, the credit he poſſeſſed among his followers, added to the dangerous influence of his known principles and inclinations, of which his papers, when ſeized, furniſhed the proofs. To ſecure his perſon was a meaſure due to the intereſt of the public ſafety.

Such is the collective aſpect of meaſures which the gravity of circumſtances commanded. The true colour under which they are here preſented clears them of all their odium.

The particular accident that occurred in the Chapel of the Greeks not united, ſituated in the ſuburbs of Warſaw, has ſtill leſs of theſe odious colours. The inadvertence of a ſubaltern officer and ſome ſoldiers, deceived, as was proved before the Commiſſion of Enquiry, by the external appearance of the Houſe, occaſioned their fault, for which ſufficient reparation was made, by the diſcharge of the one,

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and the rigorous puniſhment of the others. Falſe reports have, no doubt, repreſented this fact like all the reſt, accompanied with circumſtances of a nature to exaſperate the ſpirit of her Imperial Majeſty.

It was undoubtedly by intereſting her delicacy, that it was hoped to ſurpriſe her conviction; but the accuracy of knowledge, which diſtinguiſhes that Sovereign, will make her eaſily diſcover, in this detail of the ſeveral objects laid before her as cauſes of complaint, all the malice that wilful miſrepreſentation had added to them; and the pure intentions of the King and the Poliſh nation may expect, in conſequence of theſe explanations, to obtain of her Imperial Majeſty, the ſame juſtice that impartial Europe has already rendered them.

But if, contrary to all expectation, theſe intentions, directed by the love of peace and juſtice, having no object but the ſafety and internal peace of Poland, ſhould be ſtill miſunderſtood; if the reclamations of ſome individuals, diſſatisfied with order, ſhould prevail in the mind of her Majeſty the Empreſs over

the wiſh of the nation; and if the Republic ſhould find herſelf in the melancholy ſituation of ſeeing her ſovereignty and her legal authority diſputed; the Poliſh nation, jealous of the eſteem of Europe, jealous of the eſteem of a Sovereign who knows how to eſtimate noble ſentiments, will not heſitate in its choice between a degrading ſurrender, and the honourable perils of a neceſſary defence.

Warſaw, June 1, 1792.

The Original is Signed,

STANISLAS NALECZ MALACHOWSKI, Referendary of the Crown, Marſhal of the Diet, and of the Confederation of the Crown.

CASIMIR NESTOR, Prince Sapieha, General of the Artillery, and Marſhal of the Confederation of Lithuania.

FINIS.

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